

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

20421

Start, in which Federal funds are used to underwrite costs of preschool training for children of the "hard core" poor.

With the handling of this project his target Representative CHARLES R. JONAS, Republican, of North Carolina, described what he called "a glaring example of extra cost whenever the Federal Government insists on handling a local program out of Washington."

Mr. JONAS, pointing out that his State already had such a program in operation, financed by non-Federal funds, said that North Carolina applied for Federal money to expand the program only to have the application rejected. The Congressman added:

"The sole reason advanced by the Director of Project Head Start for rejecting the North Carolina plan was that our plan was based on State administration of the funds and program.

"It apparently did not matter to the Federal officials that the North Carolina program had been conducted by professional and trained public schoolteachers at a cost of \$30 per child and that the federally directed program would cost \$170 per child.

"They were not interested in expanding a well established and efficiently operating program which would cost \$140 per child less than the Federal program, but their concern was to retain control and direction of the program in the hands of Federal officials."

A complaint about Project Head Start expressed by educators in Boston:

Children of "hard core" poor families are not being reached by the project because, as one teacher put it: "Nobody in their families cares enough to put them in it."

A private day-care center for children of working parents in Indianapolis has complained that some of its teachers have been lured by higher salaries to an antipoverty preschool program.

An incident at San Antonio, Tex., reported in the San Antonio News:

A San Antonio physician refused to participate in a medical examination program for children involved in Project Head Start because she objected to the speed with which the youngsters were being processed.

The physician said that some 100 children were rushed through in 1 hour. The school district involved, which handles funds for the project, pays \$5 for every 20 examinations. The San Antonio physician said that tests required by the Federal Government could not be completed properly at the pace set.

Adverse comment has been created in some areas by the antipoverty program's practice of paying teachers' salaries higher than those paid in public school systems.

Typical of this comment is a statement by a Texan, referring to the academic staff at a Job Corps center:

"They have pulled out of the school system good instructors and teachers with master's degrees. These teachers are sorely needed in our public schools. There is quite a lot of dissension among teachers about the difference between their salaries of \$5,000 and the \$9,000 a year paid at Camp Gary."

A prominent Negro educator, Lester B. Granger, of Dillard University, New Orleans, called the antipoverty program a slapdash, sloppy, wasteful procedure. Mr. Granger told the National Urban League convention:

"The fat should be taken out of it. We are going to waste two-thirds of the funds going into it, just like the New Deal. This doesn't mean I don't support it. If we get even one-third out of it, it would help."

The spreading complaints about the way the poverty war is run have been echoed in strong criticism in Congress, by members of both parties.

Some examples, from The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—

Representative DONALD D. CLANCY, Republican, of Ohio, branded the war "an obvious fiasco." Mr. CLANCY said: "There is hardly an aspect of the program that has not become mired in waste and utter confusion."

Representative EDWARD J. GURNEY, Republican, of Florida: "Funds have been given out without investigation to sham groups, in areas where poverty is almost unknown."

Mr. GURNEY said that in one such area, in Ypsilanti, Mich., "over 90 percent of the population own their homes, nearly everyone has at least one car and a TV set, and the average family income is just dollars short of \$8,000."

A sample of political infighting in the antipoverty operation was given by Representative LEONARD FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York. Assailing William F. Haddad, the program's inspector general, Mr. FARBSTEIN told the House:

"He is the gentleman who ran against me last year and has stated publicly that he is going to run again. Now it is my opinion that he is subverting parts of this program for his own personal political gain. I think he is attempting to build a personal political organization out of poverty funds."

In spite of the rash of criticism in Congress and from around the country, the heavily Democratic Congress insists upon giving Mr. Shriver more spending authority than he said he needed to expand the war against poverty.

In so doing, the legislators disregard such comment as that of Representative ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican, of Minnesota, who said:

"This program could become not just a national disgrace, but a national catastrophe."

Frederic Miller
INFILTRATION OF VIETNAMESE-
SPEAKING RED CHINESE INTO
VIETNAM

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the degree and type of Red China's intervention in the Vietnam war has become a matter of grave concern to many.

It was brought home in a report carried in the Sunday Star of August 8 that Communist China has declared she would definitely intervene in the war if the United States continues its military buildup in that southeast Asia nation.

It was again underscored in an August 16 article in the Washington Post when Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, commented that Red China has "moved certain air units down into the southern part of China nearer to the border of North Vietnam."

Both these reports indicate the possibility of direct intervention in the war. But they also could indicate that Red China wants to bluff the free world into believing that it will enter the war, and thus force a negotiated settlement on Communist terms.

In my opinion, Red China does not wish to intervene to the extent that she would have to take on the United States in a head-on confrontation.

Gen. Maxwell Taylor, former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, and ex-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, apparently holds this belief.

According to the August 16 New York Herald-Tribune, General Taylor remarked that traditional hostility between Red China and North Vietnam and Peiping's fear of the United States would

"likely hold back the Red Chinese" from intervening in the war.

However, as one Communist diplomat was quoted as saying in the Washington Post of August 16, the United States is overplaying the historical aspect of the friction between Red China and North Vietnam and underestimating the political ties between Hanoi and Peiping.

I believe Red China will more likely seek to accomplish her ends through infiltration at this time, hoping the United States will not regard this as sufficient cause for retaliation. If one reads history, it can be seen that such tactics have played a significant role in the East-West struggle since early in the post World War II period.

Infiltration, blending into so-called guerrilla movements, is designed to enable the Communists to avoid free world counteraction because it is difficult to make a clear legal case justifying counterintervention. Such tactics permit delaying counteraction until the strength of the guerrilla movement has grown to such a point as to magnify greatly the difficulties of defeating it.

This type of warfare has its roots in the strategic and tactical principles designed by Red China's Mao Tse-tung.

Infiltration, then, is the method Red China will most likely use if and when she decides to take a more active part in the Vietnam conflict.

The question then is: When will Red China take this step?

I believe that Red China may already be pursuing this course of action.

That these fears apparently have some foundation is supported, in part, by an article which the Library of Congress has translated from a Chinese newspaper. I will come back to that in a few minutes. First I would like to sketch in some background which will lend credence to my case.

The likelihood of Red Chinese infiltration into the Vietnam war has grown as a result of the defection to Red China of Gen. Li Tsung-jen. General Li was a former Vice President of Nationalist China. He was Acting President of Nationalist China at the time of the Communist takeover on the mainland.

After residing in exile in the United States for the better part of 16 years, General Li showed up in Red China on July 20 of this year. Needless to say, this was a propaganda coup for Red China. But after an initial volley of denunciations of the country which had harbored him for nearly 16 years, General Li faded from the scene.

At the same time, from various reports in newspapers at the time of his appearance in Red China, it was indicated that the State Department was not greatly disturbed over the defection. This unconcern prompted me to pursue the matter a little further.

Apparently the State Department had ignored General Li's background. It had ignored the fact that General Li had been an able governor of Kwangsi Province, bordering what is now North Vietnam.

20422

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 20, 1965

This alone could very well indicate that Kwangsi Province, if infiltration is to be successful, would be the key in any plans of Mao. What better way to cement together an effective force from this province than to bring back the one person held in great esteem by the people there.

I would like to quote an observation from "China: An Area Manual," prepared by the Operations Research Office of Johns Hopkins University, under contract with the Department of the Army:

Kwangsi was for many years governed well by two able generals, Pai Ch'ung-hsi and Li Tsung-jen, who did much to give the province peace and a stable economy. Though not friends of Chiang Kai-shek, Li and Pai were not run-of-the-mine warlords; rather they were men with a sense of public responsibility. Their partial independence enabled them to train one of the best armies in China.

The people of Kwangsi Province are noted for their fighting ability and discipline, the report pointed out.

Let us examine the importance of Kwangsi Province and its relationship to North Vietnam.

Kwangsi is in the south-central administrative region of mainland China; it is surrounded by Kwangtung, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, North Vietnam, and the Gulf of Tonkin.

The chief agricultural crop is rice; it is the second leading tin-producing province.

The chief railroad is the Hunan-Kwangsi-Kweichow line from Hengyang in Hunan, which passes through northern Kwangsi via Ch'uan-hsien, Kuei-lin and Liu-chow and proceeds into Kweichow Province. There is a vital railroad extending from deep in Kwangsi Province to the North Vietnam capital of Hanoi.

On August 6, the Chinese newspaper, Min Chih Journal, published in New York, ran this article with a Hong Kong dateline.

The headline was: "Li Tsung-jen arrived in Kwangsi."

This is the same Li Tsung-jen who defected from the United States on July 20 and who played such a vital role in Kwangsi Province.

The text of the article follows:

The policymaking body in Communist China led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung realized the difference between the attitude toward the Vietnam war taken by President Johnson and the attitude toward the Korean war taken by President Truman, and has not publicly and overtly dispatched Chinese Communist volunteers to participate in the Vietnam war, for fear of bombardment of the mainland by American airplanes. Now they have devised effective measures in assisting Ho Chi-minh by sending large groups of Vietnamese-speaking militia to participate in the war. Even if they are captured they can pretend that they are volunteers from North Vietnam because they can speak the Vietnamese language. Thus the Americans cannot find any pretext to attack the Chinese. The people deep in Kwangsi and along the borders of North Vietnam were in the past deeply impressed with Li Tsung-jen. If he goes there and organizes them into militia corps they would be happy to respond.

Let me repeat that:

The people deep in Kwangsi and along the borders of North Vietnam were in the past

deeply impressed with Li Tsung-jen. If he goes there and organizes them into militia corps they would be happy to respond.

This, Mr. President, fits squarely with the observation in the manual prepared for the Department of Army by Johns Hopkins.

Continuing, the article said:

A total of 50,000 Vietnamese-speaking Kwangsi people will be conscripted as a first step.

According to intelligence from Nanning, Li Tsung-jen, who was accompanied by Chinese military leaders, Gen. Lin Piao and Lo Jui-ch'ing, flew to Kweilin from Peiping. They immediately went to Nanning to call a local high level conference, to launch a movement for the Yao minority group to participate in the war. Fifty thousand volunteers of both sexes who can speak Vietnamese will be organized into military service. The reserve army will also be composed of 50,000 people. Lin Piao will be responsible for political indoctrination, and Lo Jui-ch'ing will be responsible for intelligence work. Within a short time they will be dispatched from Hanoi to the battlefields in South Vietnam to assist the Vietcong guerrillas in resisting American troops and the troops of South Vietnam.

In this connection, a few days ago the distinguished minority leader of the House of Representatives, Representative Ford, of Michigan, and I exchanged views on a television program, to the effect that we thought the use of Nationalist Chinese forces in South Vietnam should be considered.

Some rather superficial responses to that suggestion were made to the effect that this would perhaps provoke the Red Chinese to enter the war. I suggest that on the basis of what I have disclosed thus far in my speech, whether Nationalist Chinese forces are or are not used in South Vietnam makes little difference. It appears that the decision has already been made by Red China to intervene in the Vietnamese war.

If one examines a map, it can readily be seen that the railroad from Kwangsi Province can be used to transport this force into North Vietnam, and then down to the South Vietnam border.

One can readily see that air units on Hainan Island, jutting from southern China—Kwangsi Province—into the Gulf of Tonkin could be used to airlift these forces across the gulf either into positions adjacent to the North Vietnam-South Vietnam border or into South Vietnam itself. There are at least two known airfields on Hainan Island now; probably there are more.

Mr. President, if, in fact, these reports are accurate, then we had better prepare ourselves for a change in the intensity of the war.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Red Chinese Pledge Intervention in War," published in the Washington Star of August 8, an article entitled "Wheeler Says Chinese Move Air Units South," published in the Washington Post on August 16, and also the various articles bearing on the defection of Gen. Li Tsung-jen, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 8, 1965]

RED CHINESE PLEDGE INTERVENTION IN WAR—CITE INTENT TO ACT IF U.S. FORCE RISES

TOKYO.—Communist China declared Saturday it would definitely intervene in the Vietnam conflict, as it has repeatedly pledged to the Vietnamese people, if the United States continues its military buildup there.

"We warn the U.S. aggressors once more: We, Chinese people mean what we say," the Chinese Communists asserted.

"We, the 650 million Chinese people, have repeatedly pledged to the Vietnamese people our all-out support and assistance, up to and including the sending, according to their need, of our men to fight shoulder to shoulder with them to drive out the U.S. aggressors."

The warning was contained in a Communist Chinese government statement distributed internationally by the New China News Agency in a broadcast monitored here.

JOHNSON OFFER REJECTED

It also ruled out any peace offer by President Johnson and said "The facts have proved once again that Johnson's talk about peace negotiations is fraudulent; what he really means is expansion of the war."

The Peiping statement was in response to President Johnson's July 28 statement in which he said he is adding 50,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Peiping then reiterated the four-point Communist proposal as the only solution for the Vietnam issue. These four points include withdrawal of all U.S. Forces from South Vietnam.

It was the third Communist reaction in two days to Johnson's statement. The Vietcong asked Communist North Vietnam Friday for active help in battling the Americans. And a Soviet Government statement said U.S. leaders "should have no delusions that American aggression would go unpunished."

"UNJUST CAUSE"

Red China said the United States is sending large numbers of troops to take part in combat in South Vietnam and added:

"This display of arrogance and ferocity is actually but the swagger of a helpless desperado. The United States is fighting for an unjust cause in Vietnam, hence the low morale of its soldiers and the paucity of support it gets."

Predicting victory for the Vietcong, Peiping assailed Johnson's statement on a willingness to discuss peace.

"Johnson's statement of July 28 was a wholesale exposure of the counterrevolutionary dual tactics used by the U.S. imperialists."

"While announcing the sending of large reinforcements to South Vietnam, he hypocritically talked about America's willingness to begin unconditional discussions with any government at any place at any time. This was not the first time Johnson played such a trick."

FOUR-POINT STAND OUTLINED

"Johnson said that the United States was ready to discuss any proposal of any government, including those already set forth by Hanoi. This can deceive nobody."

"As everyone knows the basic content of the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam is that the Geneva agreements should be strictly implemented, that U.S. aggression in Vietnam should be stopped, that all U.S. Armed Forces should be withdrawn from Vietnam, and that the problems of Vietnam should be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves."

The reference was to the Geneva agreement of 1954 that ended the fighting in Indochina but left Vietnam divided into

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

20423

the South and the Communist North. The two sections were to be united by free elections. But South Vietnam refused, saying free elections were impossible in the North.

SCOFFS AT U.S. POWER

Peiping scoffed at U.S. military might, saying:

"This 'special war' waged by the United States for 4 years and more in South Vietnam has failed completely, and the myth of U.S. 'air and naval superiority' has been exploded."

The Chinese statement continued:

"What the United States is now doing is to send large reinforcements to South Vietnam to expand its war of aggression against Vietnam in an attempt to keep South Vietnam under its military occupation, perpetuate the division of Vietnam, and to scrap the Geneva agreement."

"Can this indicate the slightest desire for peace on the part of the Johnson administration?"

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 16, 1965]

WHEELER SAYS CHINESE MOVE AIR UNITS SOUTH

(By Richard Halloran)

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said yesterday that Communist China has "moved certain air units down into the southern part of China nearer to the border of North Vietnam."

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler added that the Chinese have increased somewhat their air forces on Hainan Island, which juts from southern China into the Gulf of Tonkin.

But Wheeler did not advocate American air strikes against the Chinese buildup, which he said does not include ground forces so far. Wheeler appeared on the television show "Issues and Answers" (ABC-WMAL).

Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, the House minority leader, agreed with Wheeler that the United States should not carry the war to China.

URGES WIDENED BOMBING

But Ford strongly advocated bombing significant military targets in North Vietnam's heavily populated, industrial area around Hanoi and Halphong. Ford was interviewed on "Face the Nation" (CBS-WTOP).

"Our Air Force with all their training and all their equipment ought to be capable of pinpointing significant military targets in any area in North Vietnam," he said.

On relations between China and North Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor asserted yesterday that North Vietnamese leaders have more to fear from China than from the United States.

TRADITIONAL ENEMY

The former Ambassador to Saigon said that the Chinese are very unpopular in both Vietnams, and they have been a traditional enemy through history. Taylor spoke in an interview with House Majority Whip HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, for a New Orleans television station.

A Communist diplomat here disputed this view, saying the United States is overplaying the historical aspect and underestimating the political ties between Hanoi and Peiping.

On the military front, General Wheeler confirmed reports that North Vietnam has semimobile surface-to-air missile equipment in addition to the five SAM sites emplaced around Hanoi.

He said he didn't know how much of this equipment North Vietnam has, nor whether Russians are manning it. But because of these missiles, Wheeler said, "Our pilots have got to be more careful in the areas over which they fly."

Wheeler reiterated the administration view that American forces are not taking over the Vietnam war. But he said, "In certain instances, Vietnamese officers have volun-

tarily placed their forces under the command of our American field commanders so as to achieve a better military organization for command."

On news coverage of the war, Wheeler acknowledged that relations between government officials in Saigon and the press were not good. But he insisted that "a great deal of information is set down for the benefit of the press."

The General also said that "we are going to have to take a very hard look" at the possibility of military censorship. He said he was distressed by advance publication of military movements.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 21, 1965]

EX-AID OF CHIANG SCORES U.S. POLICY—LI, ARRIVING IN PEIPING, BIDS MORE NATIONALISTS DEFECT

(By Seymour Topping)

HONG KONG, July 20.—Gen. Li Tsung-jeh, former Acting President of Nationalist China, who flew to Peiping today after 16 years of exile in the United States, pledged support of the Communist cause to make up for his guilty past.

In a statement at the airport distributed by Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist press agency, the 74-year-old general appealed to Nationalist political and military leaders on Taiwan to follow his example and join in a common front against the United States.

The former anti-Communist leader accused President Johnson of expanding the war in Vietnam and "thereby even trying to provoke war against the Chinese people."

The general was warmly welcomed at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai and more than 100 other prominent political figures, including a number of Nationalist officials who had defected since the Communist conquest of the Chinese mainland in 1949.

The demonstrative reception seemed to have been intended to encourage other Nationalist officials to rally to Peiping.

HE DISAPPEARED IN ZURICH

General Li, accompanied by his wife, Kuo Teh-chieh, flew to the Chinese Communist capital by a secret route aboard a special plane after having disappeared in Zurich, Switzerland.

The general left the United States for Zurich last month after having sold his New Jersey home. He told friends that he wished to be with his wife, who was recuperating from an operation for cancer, but that he would return to the United States.

It was understood that U.S. officials had become aware of the general's probable intention to go to Communist China but had taken no action to block his departure from New York.

U.S. officials also anticipated that upon his arrival in Peiping the general would take up the Chinese Communist propaganda line against the Johnson administration.

General Li, following a distinguished military career, became Vice President of Nationalist China in 1948 while the civil war with the Communists was in progress. After Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had temporarily retired as President, General Li served as Acting President from January 21, 1949, to February 28, 1950.

HE FORMED A THIRD FORCE

Declining to join Generalissimo Chiang in his refuge on Taiwan, General Li went to the United States in December 1949. He later broke with the Taiwan group and formed what he called a third force to regain power in mainland China.

In his statement in Peiping today, General Li said that his first mistake had been his refusal to accept the Communist accession to power and his second had been an abortive effort to start a third force movement.

Cheng Su-yuan, who had been an aide to

General Li in the third force movement and particularly active in Hong Kong, accompanied the former Nationalist leader to Peiping today.

Hsinhua distributed abroad a text of the statement by General Li. The Communist press agency said that the statement had been issued on his arrival but did not say whether it was being read by the general.

In his statement General Li said he would like to advise his "comrades on Taiwan of impressions formed during my more than a decade's stay in the United States." He continued:

"For years the United States has purported to be opposing communism, yet it is actually committing a series of sordid crimes against the people of China and of the world, in an attempt to isolate China and dominate the world."

U.S. DESIGNS ON TAIWAN SEEN

The statement asserted that "the United States has been bent on seizing Taiwan for itself and has stopped at no tricks, and plots to attain this end." It added that "reunification of Taiwan with the mainland is purely China's internal affair, in which the United States must not be allowed to meddle."

In urging Nationalist leaders on Taiwan to defect to Communist China, the statement reminded them that Peiping had long ago announced a policy that "all patriots, both forerunners and latecomers, belong to the same family and that freedom of movement is guaranteed both to and from the mainland."

Chinese sources in Hong Kong said it was expected that General Li would be given a titular post in the Peiping government similar to those awarded to Nationalist officials who rallied to Communist China.

TAIWAN IS NOT SURPRISED

TAIPEI, TAIWAN, July 20.—Nationalist China brushed aside today the defection of General Li but looked for the Peiping Communists to exploit it as a major cold war victory.

Officials declined to talk about the cross-over, saying they did not want to lend it undue importance. General Li had been read out of the ruling Kuomintang party in 1952 after having clashed with President Chiang.

Word of the defection had been in the wind in Taiwan for a week.

Thus the Peiping announcements came as no great shock to the Nationalists.

CHIEF DEFECTOR TO REDS

WASHINGTON, July 20.—General Li is the most prominent figure to go over to the Chinese Communists since the collapse of the Nationalist regime.

"There is no doubt that Peiping will try to get as much play as possible out of this," commented one official closely connected with Chinese affairs. "I don't expect a wave of defections from Taiwan, but it may give some of Li's old associates food for thought."

Most experts on China at the State Department took the view that the effect of the aged former war lord's return was considerably limited by two factors.

One was the personal motives that are believed to have underlain his action. The general lived quietly with his wife in New Jersey and took next to no part in the political discussions and efforts that are common among some prominent Chinese exiles.

General Li was described as having been almost completely dependent upon his wife in dealing with his surroundings. The grave illness of Mrs. Li is believed to have been a strong motive in inducing General Li to give up his life here and return to China, where some of his wife's relatives still live.

As for the second factor, General Li during his exile in the United States was considered by Taiwan to have cut himself off from the Nationalist movement. For this reason ex-

perts here believe that the Nationalist Government will be able to play down the significance of his return.

MOVE ASTONISHES COLLEAGUES
(By Farnsworth Fowle)

General Li's return to Communist China astonished American scholars at Columbia University with whom he had worked on a 1,000-page autobiography in English translation now complete and under consideration for publication by the Columbia University Press.

It was one of five taperecorded memoirs by leaders of Nationalist China undertaken since 1959, by the university with the assistance of the Ford Foundation.

General Li had been a perennial critic of the Nationalist administration on Taiwan and had never visited the island.

Although he had duly arranged his trip with his wife to Switzerland through the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service office in Newark, he had not told his Columbia associates of his plans. They said one of his Chinese friends had received a letter from him in Switzerland telling of the couple's decision to return to mainland China.

General Li's motives for adhering to Communist China were a matter of speculation, as were the time and place of planning his return.

Chinese nationalist sources have circulated reports, which they describe as unconfirmed, that two Chinese Communist agents moved into his neighborhood in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., where he owned a house at 77 New Street, and that they started winning his confidence several years ago.

Other associates thought that advancing age and the difficulty of obtaining servants might have impelled General and Mrs. Li to seek a more comfortable existence in their native land.

These sources had heard unconfirmed reports that Mrs. Li had a brother in Switzerland and that plans for the return to mainland China might have been arranged through him rather than in this country.

General Li spent some time in Europe in 1963, returning to the United States December 21 of that year. In applying this spring for permission from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to leave the United States and return, he said he planned to leave in May and spend about 3 months abroad. The permission was granted April 28, 6 days after his application.

OFFICIAL EXPLAINS CASE

William J. Wyrsh, deputy director of the office of the Service in Newark, said the matter had been handled in a routine manner.

When asked how General Li had supported his wife and their son, Jee Sen (Jackson) Li, since they arrived on American soil December 6, 1949, Mr. Wyrsh said the general had listed himself as a retired official of the Nationalist Government with a private income. Mr. Wyrsh explained that his office was not required to examine such matters more closely as long as the alien resident complied with all laws. The Li's had permanent residence here under the Refugee Relief Act of 1957.

General Li came to the United States first for an abdominal operation. When he left a New York hospital in 1950, the family moved to a spacious house at 4565 Delaford Avenue in the Fieldstone section of Riverdale in the Bronx.

Neighbors recalled that the city police had maintained a sentry box with a man on duty outside the house 24 hours a day. The Li's were remembered as an aloof couple in a community in which distinguished foreigners are readily welcomed.

A few years later the Li's moved to New Jersey. The son, who according to friends

served in the U.S. Army and is now an American citizen, was not active in the autobiographical project. He is living in Riverdale with an older brother and is reported to have been completely surprised by his parents' return to China.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
July 21, 1965]
SIXTEEN-YEAR EXILE RETURNS TO CHINESE FOLD

(By Vergil Berger)

PEIPING, July 20.—Gen. Li Tsung-jen, 74-year-old former Nationalist Chinese Acting President, returned to an emotional welcome here today after 16 years in exile, mostly in the United States.

At the airport to greet General Li and his wife were Premier Chou En-lai, three vice premiers and several other top officials of the Communist regime, which ousted his Kuomintang government in 1949.

Li said he was returning to "contribute my humble share to all efforts for the patriotic cause of opposing imperialism."

He attacked the United States, accusing it of trying to dominate the world, and called on his Chinese friends abroad either to support Communist China or to return here "for it is not yet too late to come back."

(Li became vice president under Chiang Kai-shek in 1948, made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate peace with the Communists in 1949, and was acting president from January 1949, to February 1950, when Chiang withdrew his forces to Taiwan.)

On his arrival by special plane Li exchanged warm handshakes and greetings with the Communist leaders and former Kuomintang leaders who stayed on after the Communist takeover.

Li also said the Chinese achievements under the Communist party, including the recent successful explosions of two atom bombs, had "inspired great pride in every Chinese living abroad except a handful of diehards."

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1965]
TAIWAN PLAYS DOWN EX-AIDEE'S DEFECTION

TAIPEI, TAIWAN, July 21.—Nationalist China tried to take the defection of its former Acting President, Gen. Li Tsung-jen, to Peiping in stride today. Officials here are attaching as little significance to the defection as possible.

As one high-ranking official of the Kuomintang put it, "We are purposely playing this one down. Why help the Chinese Communists with the propaganda barrage that is sure to follow?"

All of Taipei's Chinese-language newspapers described the defection in a short news item on their inside pages.

Most officials expressed the opinion that since General Li had been out of touch with Chinese affairs for so long, his defection would cause little stir among Chinese here and abroad.

Nationalist China has always taken the position that he deserted it by going to the United States and remaining there for the last 16 years.

It was also reported in the press here that General Li sent Mao Tse-tung, leader of Communist China, two boxes of paintings and scrolls a year ago and that in return Mr. Mao had sent him \$100,000 through two agents who had sought to persuade him to return to China.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,
July 20, 1965]

HIGH NATIONALIST DEFECTS TO PEIPING COMMUNISTS

TOKYO.—Li Tsung-jen, who served 6 years as Vice President of Nationalist China and was its acting President for 1 year, threw in his lot with the Chinese Communists today.

He fired a parting blast at the United States which had sheltered him since 1949.

The New China News Agency said Li and his wife arrived by special plane at Peiping Airport. They were greeted by Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and a delegation of 100 high Communist officials.

The 74-year-old former soldier-statesman was the most important Chinese to go over to the Reds since the Communists drove Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland 16 years ago.

Li reportedly left the United States July 15 for Switzerland. In a statement at the airport, he called the United States our foreign enemy and accused it of "committing a series of sordid crimes against the people of China and of the world in an attempt to isolate China and dominate the world."

DENOUNCES JOHNSON

"Especially since Lyndon B. Johnson came to office," he continued, "the United States has stepped up its evil doings and expanded the war of aggression in Vietnam, even trying thereby to provoke a war against the Chinese people."

Li had lived in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., for 9 years.

Li, whose defection has been rumored in Taipei and Hong Kong newspapers for a week, said he had made his choice because he had been impressed by Red China's two atom bomb tests and "the wise leadership" of Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

"I hereby pledge to devote the remaining years of my life to the service of my country, and may heaven and earth be witness to my sincerity," he said.

OTHER MISTAKES CITED

Appealing to his comrades in Chiang's Kuomintang Party to join him, Li described himself as an exile "with a guilty past." He said he had always regretted failing to accept the Communist terms for "internal peace" in China in 1949.

He said his efforts during the first years of his self-exile to create a third force among the Chinese "added another mistake to my previous ones."

Li said he had recently felt there were only two alternatives, either to side with the Communists "or to wallow in the mire with the reactionaries and be discarded along with them by the times."

An army commander by the time he was 36, Li held key military posts for 20 years and served on China's National Military Council during World War II. He was director of Chiang's headquarters in Peiping from 1945 to 1949.

He became Vice President in 1948 and held the title until 1954, although he spent the last 5 years of the term in the United States.

When the Communists were on the verge of victory, Li and others clamored for peace negotiations. Chiang abruptly resigned on January 21 and named Li acting President to give him a free hand in seeking a settlement. Li got nowhere and after the mainland was overrun, Chiang resumed the Presidency on March 1, 1950, on Formosa.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is with much regret that I note the absence in this bill of any funding for section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. The Department of Defense has informed me that they recognize their responsibility for their personnel who are affected by closures at such installations as Olmsted Air Force Base, and they also tell me that they support in principle the intent of section 108. However, they then proceed to imply

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

20425

that they simply do not have enough information at this time to advise the committee as to the appropriation needed.

I submit, Mr. President, that all the sympathetic words on the part of the Defense Department will not replace the hundreds of dollars their employees are losing on the sale of their homes. Secretary McNamara has given us technical objections instead of the humanitarian approach, in view of the urgency of this situation. Senator CLARK and I have worked diligently to protect the interests of our constituents at Olmsted, and it is with deep regret that we are now informed that the Defense Department refuses to act on our request.

Originally, it was my intention to offer an amendment to the bill on the floor to fund section 108, but, in view of the committee's decision to await the Defense Department's estimates, I shall defer any such action. I do, however, call upon the Defense Department to submit their estimates to the Appropriations Committee at the outset of the second session of this Congress so that remedial action may be taken at that time. I feel that it is the responsibility of our Government to insure that its employees are not subjected to extraordinary economic hardship through governmental action; in this case merely because the Department of Defense decides to shut down a Federal installation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter dated August 17 from the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] in reference to that act. I ask unanimous consent also that a statement of my colleague [Mr. CLARK] be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
August 17, 1965.

Hon. HUGH SCOTT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HUGH: I was very much interested in Senator Clark's presentation before the Military Construction Subcommittee last Tuesday for the immediate funding of the program authorized by section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

The committee considered the proposal and decided that the details had not been adequately worked out and it was difficult to assess the ultimate cost of the program. In the committee report it was pointed out that the Department of Defense may be precluded from implementing section 108 during fiscal year 1966, in view of the provisions of section 406 of Public Law 85-241 as amended (42 U.S.C. 1594). Section 406 with certain specific exceptions prohibits the construction or acquisition of family housing units "at or in support of military installations or activities" unless authorized by line items in an annual military construction authorization act. The committee expressed the opinion that the Department of Defense should make a study of section 108.

In my opinion it would be well to withhold action until such time as the Depart-

ment submits a thoroughly worked out plan to the Congress. I realize your deep interest in this matter and hope that something can be worked out next year.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
U.S. Senator.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK, DEMOCRAT, OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am extremely grateful for this opportunity to appear before you.

My purpose in testifying before you today is to urge the immediate funding of the program authorized by section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, which has just been passed by the Congress.

That program is designed to provide some badly needed financial relief to homeowners who lose their jobs as the result of the closing of a Federal base. It was added to the bill as a result of the efforts of Senators SPARKMAN, TOWER, and myself, and Representatives KUNKEL and BARRETT in the other body.

Although the need for such relief was made plain to me through the plight of my constituents in the Olmsted Air Force Base area, the problem is truly a national one. Similar hardships are being felt by or are in prospect for families in Mobile, Ala., and Waco and Amarillo, Tex. The scenario is the same in each small community: an announcement is made that the base will be closed; hundreds of homes are suddenly placed on the market as people go elsewhere to find work; and the result is a sharp decline in real estate values.

Consider the case of the homeowner who has just been told that his job is either being transferred or abolished. More likely than not, his main financial asset is his house, bought at a time when the market was good, and quite probably heavily encumbered. Perhaps he is willing to accept a functional transfer, which means moving to a new community. Perhaps he would like to move to take a private job in some other part of the country.

In either case, he will have to try to find a buyer for his house. What he will probably find instead is that his house has been turned from an asset into an albatross overnight—because of the same base closing which cost him his job.

The fact is that the simple economics of base closings extract a double penalty from the homeowner-employee. In a single stroke a shutdown order can rob him of the two things that are most precious to him: his livelihood and his savings.

It was because of this need and this injustice that we wrote section 108 into the law. It provides in cases where a homeowner has lost his job as a result of a base closing and is unable to find a buyer willing to pay a reasonable price for his house, that the Secretary of Defense is authorized to buy the house at a price determined by consulting the market prior to the time the Department of Defense announced its intention to close the base. The properties thus acquired would then be turned over to the FHA for disposal.

There is nothing particularly novel about this idea. It has been in use for some time by certain large corporations, notably IBM. And it provides a tested means for rectifying a serious injustice and softening a severe financial blow.

But this excellent program cannot do the people of Middletown, Pa., and Mobile, Ala.,

and Waco, Tex., one iota of good unless and until it is funded. For many, who are faced at this very moment with the need to sell their homes to seek new employment, justice delayed will literally be justice denied. And if the program should go unfunded this year, irremediable injury will be done to many Americans whose only crime was to lose their jobs as the result of a shutdown of a Federal installation.

Accordingly, I hope that this subcommittee will seek the guidance of the Department of Defense in determining the size of the appropriation required to set this homeowner-relief program in operation now. I urge the members of the subcommittee to include in the pending Military Construction Appropriations bill the full amount needed to provide this modicum of assistance to the many families whose lives have been disrupted by the closing of Federal installations.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF SERVICE OF MARK TRICE IN THE SENATE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, yesterday we paid tribute to the distinguished secretary of the minority, Mr. Mark Trice. Quite a number of speeches were made on the floor of the Senate, and other Senators would like to insert speeches in the RECORD.

I therefore make the following request for myself and for the distinguished majority leader:

First, that all Senators may have 10 days in which to insert speeches in the RECORD with reference to Mark Trice;

Second, that those speeches be gathered and published as a Senate document.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yesterday there was a soirée, so to speak, in tribute to Mark Trice, and at that time he was presented with a gift. I thought it was an interesting gift, since Mark had been in the service of the Senate for 45 years. I could think of nothing quite so suitable as supplying him with a large wall electric timepiece which, instead of moving forward like a clock, moves backward and, therefore, rolls back time. In connection with that presentation, I took the liberty to offer a few quotations from a poem by Elizabeth Akers.

I ask unanimous consent to have the quotations made a part of my remarks so that they may also be included in the document in which the speeches are to be assembled.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCK ME TO SLEEP

Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight,

Make me a child again just for tonight.
Mother, come back from the echoless shore,
Take me again to your heart as of yore;
Kiss from my forehead the furrows of care,
Smooth the few silver threads out of my hair;

Over my slumbers your loving watch keep—
Rock me to sleep, mother—rock me to sleep.

Backward, flow backward, O tide of the years.

I am so weary of toil and of tears—
Toll without recompense, tears all in vain—
Take them and give me my childhood again.
I have grown weary of dust and decay,
Weary of flinging my soul wealth away,
Weary of sowing for others to reap—

Rock me to sleep, mother—rock me to sleep.

—ELIZABETH AKERS.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, Mark Trice has been a part of the Senate for 45 years. He is much too young to be termed an institution, but one can say in all honesty that he is a tradition. That tradition embodies respect for his fellow man, a willingness to counsel when counsel is needed, and simply a readiness to lift your spirits up when everything else is getting you down.

In defining a gentleman, Cardinal Newman once said that "it is almost enough to say that a gentleman is one who never inflicts pain."

Yes, Mark Trice is a gentleman in that spirit, but that does not say it all.

As he would refrain from inflicting pain on any one, so too would he sacrifice his own comfort if it would bring an iota of happiness to another.

On his 45th anniversary of service in the Senate—we salute Mark as an adviser, as a gentleman, but above all—as a friend.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, somebody described the perfect staff man as one "with a passion for anonymity." When you add to that characteristic an equal passion for complete and equal-handed unselfish service, you are just beginning to describe Mark Trice. It did not take him 45 years to learn to anticipate the differing needs and problems of Senators with wide differences in experience, seniority, and personality. To each he conveys the impression that that man's problems are just a little more important than usual and for each he has just the right suggestions. I am sure of this because ever since I came to the Senate as a freshman I have been the recipient of many special services and kindnesses.

I am sure the Senate is a stronger and more effective legislative body because Mark Trice has for so long been one of its unseen buttresses.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, in spite of the fact that I have not been a Member of this body nearly so long as some, I do feel qualified to give testimony to the full measure of dedication and devotion to duty that has marked the 45 years of service of Mark Trice at the Capitol.

Coming to the Senate as I did in the latter portion of a session, I quickly realized the necessity of having reliable information not only on the issues at hand, but also information on Senate

procedures and operation. My colleagues quickly referred me to the secretary of the minority, Mark Trice. This was sound guidance. I received the information I needed and Mark Trice more than once kept the junior Senator from Idaho from blundering astray. Furthermore, Mr. Trice began at once to provide me the education needed by a new Senator.

Now, one would expect the secretary to the Senate minority to guide new Senators of the minority side of the aisle. But the manner and way this aid is given is what puts Mark Trice in a class by himself. He never takes advantage of his position. He is devoted to helping Senators perform their senatorial duties in the best way. And above all, certainly not the least of Mark Trice's commendable traits is his integrity. He is friendly, amiable, unobtrusive, and yet Mark Trice commands the respect of all who work with him regardless of which side of the aisle they may have a seat in the Senate Chambers.

Whether one is the most junior Member of the Senate or the most senior Member, all can seek and get valuable advice and assistance from Mark Trice. Those who receive this advice can always be assured that it will be given in the best interests of both the individual and the effective, responsible operation of the Senate.

Mr. President, as a member of the Republican team in the Senate, I am grateful to Mark Trice for his devoted service in the past 45 years. I wish him well and congratulate him as he begins his 46th year in the Senate. I am privileged to have him as my friend.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, today is the 45th anniversary of service to the Senate of J. Mark Trice, secretary to the minority.

Such a period of service seems almost unbelievable when one considers the comparative youthful appearance of this fine public servant, and I suspect that his wonderful wife, Margaret, has had a great deal to do with it.

The secretary to the minority comes about as close to being a Republican Senator as one can without actually being one. He probably spends more time on the Senate floor than any of us, and his knowledge of pending legislation and parliamentary procedure is invaluable in enabling the regular Senate Members to be informed at all times, merely by calling the floor, while we are necessarily in committee meetings or in our offices.

I have, in my 5 years here, found Mark Trice a source of friendly, wise counsel—always cheerful, always helpful, and always with the highest sense of dedication to the Senate and its Members.

I join with my colleagues in heartiest congratulations to Mark and Margaret. We are most proud of you, and you have our deepest affection.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in congratulating Mark Trice on his 45 years of service in the Senate.

Starting as a page, Mark has practically grown up with the Senate. During the more than 20 years I have been asso-

ciated with him, I have found him to be one of the most dedicated, able, and personable public servants I have ever known. He handles a very difficult job in a most commendable way. Not many could serve so well. His 45 years of continuous service in itself speaks better than words of the esteem and respect in which he is held by all of the Members of the Senate.

I treasure his friendship and express the fond hope that he will be serving the U.S. Senate for many, many years to come.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, today, I would speak of Mark Trice, and of his courtesy and his helpfulness. We appreciate these qualities, but to me the outstanding characteristics which have attended Mark Trice have been his steadiness, his correctness, his sense of duty, and his respect and loyalty for the Senate as an institution of our Government and of our country. Mark Trice has served both his party and the Senate of the United States faithfully and honorably, and we honor him for this service.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

REPORT OF SURVEY ON BANK PROTECTION WORKS ADJACENT TO RAILROAD ALONG EEL RIVER, CALIF.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Deputy Director, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, for the information of the Senate, a report of survey on bank protection works adjacent to railroad along Eel River, Calif., which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. SYMINGTON, from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment:

H.R. 7596. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove inequities in the active duty promotion opportunity of certain Air Force officers (Rept. No. 634).

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 356. A bill for the relief of Miloye M. Sokitch (Rept. No. 636).

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS—MINORITY AND ADDITIONAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 635)

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business, I submit that committee's 15th annual report, together with minority and additional views, and ask that it be printed.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

20438

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 20, 1965

about in dismay, and in confusion, not knowing whither to turn. The darker the days become, the more glorious this blessed hope shines in our lives. I come to you with a message of encouragement, and hope and assurance and cheer, that one of these days, just as surely as Jesus came and died on the Cross the first time, and arose from the grave, and ascended into Heaven. He is coming again. Coming again, to put a stop to all the wickedness, the inequality, and iniquity of this present day, put an end to man's rule of failure and bungling, and to set up His glorious, millennial Kingdom. Yes, indeed, one of these days—

"The Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:

"Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

"Wherefore comfort one another with these words" (I Thessalonians 4: 16-18).

Fe (and) Bayh

IMPRESSIONS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is difficult for the average American to visualize and understand the kind of life faced by our Armed Forces in Vietnam. During periods of hostility most of us are dependent upon the perceptive powers and accuracy of those writers who are privileged to live with troops in the field for our knowledge of their everyday experiences and sacrifices.

Recently a young information specialist, Pfc. Richard A. Busse, of Gary, Ind., wrote an excellent article depicting in clear yet moving terms some GI reactions to the problems and tribulations confronting our men in Vietnam. This fine analysis is much in the tradition of Ernie Pyle, our famous Hoosier reporter of World War II. Because indirectly it will help citizens at home comprehend in a limited way the thoughts and feelings of those now serving in Vietnam, I ask unanimous consent that this article, which appeared in the Gary Post-Tribune for July 21, 1965, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GARY MAN AT SCENE TELLS HOW WAR HITS VIETNAMESE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Pfc. Richard A. Busse, son of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Busse, 4722 Grant Street, is an information specialist in Vietnam. He is a 1958 graduate of Calumet Township High School and a 1962 graduate of Northwestern University. Busse is in the last year of a 3-year enlistment in the Army. Previous to duty in Vietnam he was stationed in Korea. Busse is a reporter of service news in Vietnam and has also had articles printed in the Saigon Daily News. In this article he gives his first impressions of Vietnam, its people, and the GIs who have come there to aid in the fight for freedom.)

(By Richard A. Busse)

A child is crying. Its bandaged limbs hurt. The stretcher on which medics have placed it is not its own bed. It asks for its mother and father, but they are dead, in the charred skeleton of a village sacked and burned by Vietcong guerrillas trained by agents of Communist Ho Chi-minh.

No one can yet determine whether the shock of the terror the child saw will leave it as scarred within for the rest of its life as it is without. But the chances are it will.

At this moment a magic contrast to the violence it experienced adds to the child's confusion. Gentle hands from far away bring it food, comfort, mercy. They heal, and the strangers' soft voices, speaking a language it cannot comprehend, sound understanding.

The child's people were not warlike. On the contrary, they were traditionally worshippers of "the peaceful" and "the tranquil." They were unskilled in methods of self-defense. But peaceful men of such intensity who toil all day long to plant and harvest rice on the land of their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors, do not have time to build walls against countrymen they do not know are their enemies.

They tried to defend themselves when the truth broke upon them, using desperation against an enemy more skilled at guerrilla warfare than the best armies in the world.

There was no reason to the slaughter the child saw, just cunning insanity. To end it, the survivors would have to learn how to go out and destroy it, or forever live at the point of its sword. But someone would have to teach them how, because peaceful natures cannot be changed overnight.

Until then there would be more lonely aftermaths like this one, and more futile emotion; the anguish of more children left without their parents, and bewildered dogs rummaging through garbage.

While Gray works, plays, and sleeps, the sound of mortar and artillery never ceases to come from west of Saigon. Every night it grumbles dully, sometimes shaking the ground, compelling many of the new men just in from the States, Korea, Okinawa, and other bases throughout the Pacific, to lie awake, staring into the darkness of their tents, asking themselves * * * "what about tomorrow * * * what will tomorrow be?"

They live in a reception station, a tent city growing every day to handle more and more incoming troops.

Many here await transportation to duty stations all over Vietnam: outposts like Da Nang, Pleiku, and Vung Tau; Soc Trang, DaLat, and Bien Hoa; Duc Hoa, Duc My, and Phu Lam; Vinh Long, Song Be, Dong Xoai, Binh Gia, and many many more.

Listen for these names. Try to remember them. As time goes by they will become as familiar to the Americans in the fields and towns of Indiana who inform themselves as they are now to the Americans who man the outposts in the fields of South Vietnam.

These names sound strange today, as strange as the names of battlegrounds during World War II and Korea did to the generations who made them immortal.

Whether he is in a tent-city reception station, an outpost at night under attack by insurgent guerrillas, or in a rear area fighting a lonely battle against time or concern over personal problems at home, the GI does not take it entirely for granted that every American agrees with his being here.

Neither does the marine on patrol in the jungles around Da Nang, or the sailor in hostile waters far off shore in the South China Sea, or the airman whose plane is hit and in trouble somewhere over North Vietnam.

It's a "helluva" way to have to go through a day over here, knowing that. But he figures the dissenting opinions in situations like this always point up the difference between being near something and far away from it; between judging something from a distance and being involved in it up to your neck.

Some men receive their hometown papers. Some have access to popular stateside magazines on current events. Some can tune in on honest appraisals of the news from Washington over the Armed Forces Radio Service. Democracy provides freedom of information and he makes use of it.

He reads about mothers back home asking "Why must mothers mourn?"

No, he feels, it's not a crime for mothers to ask if their son's participation in the war in Vietnam is a necessary thing. They should ask if only because it is a way of life with us to hold the value of the individual human soul above all else, especially when that soul is a son's.

But he feels it is a woman's question in a man's world. He feels that fathers who have fought on foreign soil understand his situation only too well. There is a certain common chemistry about sons who wear their country's uniform. There is only one age among them * * * the age of duty.

Harassing fire continues in the night. Enemies probe for each other. Single bursts boom across the horizon, then whole volleys. Sometimes flares drift down on parachutes, lighting the sky and the earth below when friendly forces want to see what the Vietcong are up to. At night the Vietcong is in his element. The flares burn with a dazzling golden light and leave erratic trails of white-looking smoke.

Tent city is judged a relatively safe place by the men who live there, because it hasn't been hit by the Vietcong yet.

Some men sit alone in the darkened tents, writing letters home by flashlight. Others worry about why none have been coming from home. GIs bless the balmy sea breeze embracing the land at night, tolerate the monsoon rains which come at all hours, and curse the torrid heat of the day.

They have done their details. They have filled sandbags for bunker construction, painted latrines, dug a few ditches, and policed the compound. And they have sweated. Some now walk guard. Most of the guards are privates, and most of the privates are kids on their first time away from home and families. But they're doing all right.

Some men lie on their bunks, staring into the darkness, listening to the sound of war rumbling distantly. Perhaps the outpost he will be going to lies in that direction. Yet he knows directions make no difference because the war is all around. There are no lines, no fronts, no thoroughly safe rear areas anywhere. The guerrilla can hit anywhere, sometimes singly by planting a bomb or throwing a grenade, or he may come in small groups, or in platoon, company, or battalion strength. Worrying about it is useless. But nobody loses sight of the fact that it could happen. It's really all a matter of chance.

It is a different kind of war, the kind he read about in the magazines before he got here; the unorthodox new tactics, the new weapons and new usages for old weapons, the sneak hit-and-run attacks the ambush, the terrorist raids, and the Vietcong—Vietnamese Communist—"VC" in GI jargon.

But the American soldier is resilient. No matter where he is he brings a part of America with him. It is alive in his laughter, his wit, and his love of life and freedom.

They ask questions amongst themselves, trying to put a picture together of their new situation, as they smoke outside their tents. They discuss all the rumors they've heard since arriving. They speculate on what the duty will be like where they are going. Some men's orders have been changed since arriving. They're going to a place they haven't looked up on a map yet.

"Hey, where's Phu Bai?"

"Anybody know where Ban Me Thuot is?"

Nobody ever gets the pronunciations right, but after a while everybody gets to understand.

Names, places, stories, and scuttlebutt; each man tries to find his own niche in this struggle for which his generation now bears the burden of such great responsibility.

In a blacked-out tent a GI talks to his buddy in the next bunk. He gripes about his discomforts, the lousy luck that brought him here, the good job he had to give up back home, the sweet car he was paying on, his

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

20437

to turn to a number of others. First of all, will you follow in your Bible as we consider Isaiah 65: 19.

"And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.

"There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

"They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them" (Isaiah 65: 19-23).

This is an exceedingly rich passage of Scripture, and we suggest that you study it for your own private devotion. There are several things to be noted which, as the context will clearly show, are a description of the conditions that will exist in this world during that coming golden age, centering in the city of Jerusalem, the world capital in that wonderful day when Jesus reigns upon the throne of David.

First of all, will you notice that the Lord promises that in this wonderful age, which we believe lies in the not-too-distant future, sorrow and weeping and crying will be forever banished. The Lord will remove those things which are causing the sorrows of this world today. Satan, of course, will be bound during that age, and cast into the bottomless pit. All men will at least nominally profess to know the Lord Jesus and bow the knee to Him, so that sorrow and troubles and trials which beset us today will be utterly unknown when Jesus reigns upon the throne in Jerusalem. Then will you notice, in the second place, that this passage also teaches that life will be greatly prolonged during the millennial age.

"There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old" (Isaiah 65: 20).

From this interesting passage we find that life will be so tremendously lengthened that a child will not mature until he is at least a hundred years old. All the processes of life will be slowed up, so that a child will remain a child for an entire century. As a result, since a child is not responsible until he has come to the years of accountability and this age of accountability will not be reached in the millennium until after a century of life here upon the earth, there can be no infant death of any kind. No one will die during the millennium under 100 years old, because the only cause of death will be open, deliberate, presumptuous rebellion against the King. The minimum span of life will be 100 years, and only after the child has reached a hundred years, and the age of responsibility and accountability, will it be possible for it to die, and then, as we have stated, only in case of open rebellion against the King, the Lord Jesus. So that we read further: " * * * the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed" (Isaiah 65: 20).

In the 22d verse of this same chapter we read: " * * * as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands" (Isaiah 65: 22).

Since a thousand years is with the Lord as 1 day, and 1 day is as a thousand years, we can understand these statements. You will recall that God said to Adam in the Garden, "The day thou eatest thereof thou shalt

surely die." Since a thousand years is as 1 day with the Lord, God told Adam that he because of sin could not live out the span of 1,000 years upon the earth, which is equal to one of God's days; and as a result Adam and all other antediluvians died before they ever reached the age of 1,000 years. But at the coming of Christ and the setting up of the Kingdom, the curse will be removed, and then men will live out the full day of God, 1,000 blessed years.

Sickness will be unknown

We said a moment ago that the only cause of death in the millennium will be a result of the immediate judgment of God upon open rebellion of sinners. We are further told in the Scriptures that sickness will be unknown during this blessed age of Christ's reign upon the earth. In Isaiah 35, we read:

"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.

"Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (Isaiah 35: 5, 6).

If you will notice carefully the context of this passage, especially the 34th chapter, you will notice that the time referred to is the time of Christ's return and the setting up of His Kingdom here upon the earth. All sickness, therefore, will be banished. In Isaiah 33: 24, we read this:

"And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity" (Isaiah 33: 24).

I realize that it is exceedingly difficult for us to imagine this in an age of sorrow and sickness, suffering and death, on every hand; however, there will be a period of 1,000 years when there will be no hospitals, no clinics, no ambulances screaming down our streets, for there will be no sickness and no disease. According to the Word of God, there will be only the occasional funeral service when someone who has openly rebelled against the King of Kings will suffer the immediate judgment of Almighty God.

No more poverty

The next thing we are told in this wonderful passage concerning the Millennium is that poverty and want shall be abolished forever and ever. Inequality among people will be wiped out, and there will be that common blessing of Almighty God upon all. In Isaiah 65 we read once again:

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat" (Isaiah 65: 21, 22).

Everyone will be self-employed, and shall enjoy the full fruitage of his own labor. The prophet Micah tells us: "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (Micah 4: 4).

Every single inhabitant of the world in that age will be independent, own his own property and his own home, and provide for his own family in abundance. There will be no want, there will be no hunger, there will be no thirsting, there will be no problem of distribution, there will be no famine of any kind, but all will have enough, and all shall be satisfied.

The Bible tells us also that in this wonderful age, all of the religious controversy and strife and difference of opinion which has become such a reproach shall be forever ended. There will not be a large number of religions all contending one with another, but instead one great world religion will be the result. In Micah 4 we read concerning the worship in this wonderful age:

"And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall

go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Micah 4: 2).

In this same vein we read the following in Jeremiah 31: 34:

"And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jeremiah 31: 34).

The Apostle Paul writing in the New Testament also speaks of this coming day, when all of the divisions, not only of Christianity, but all religions will be forever past, and all men shall be worshipers of the Lord Jesus, at least in outward profession. Paul tells us that the day is coming, when "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;

"And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Philippians 2: 10, 11).

We have already touched upon the fact that during this age there will be universal peace. There will be no military training camps, no war planes, no battleships, no hostile submarine activity, there will not even be any munitions factories, for in that day they shall "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not rise up against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Time would utterly fail us to quote passage after passage from Scripture, all of them with one accord and without contradiction speaking of that glorious age for which every true child of God must be looking.

Truly as we look upon conditions in the world today, if we did not have this hope of Christ's returning, and we had to rely upon the power of the church, and the testimony of Christians to bring about the cessation of hostilities and to bring in perfect righteousness, I for one would despair and give up hope entirely. Personally, if I did not believe in the imminent, personal return of the Lord Jesus to make right that which is all wrong in this world today, and to bring in the peace for which man has so long been sighing, and for which he has so long been looking, I don't think I would care to preach another sermon. I would have to admit that the whole thing is a failure, and that the Gospel has not accomplished that which we had expected, and that Christianity is nothing else but another religion, and a tremendous farce.

But, glory be to God, we have this assurance, we who know His program, that He who said He would come, will come, and will not tarry. His last promise which He left with His disciples was "I am coming again." The last promise of the Bible is:

"He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly" (Revelation 22: 20).

So we can praise God that in the midst of all the darkening clouds of impending judgment and the ominous shadows of dark days ahead, when men's hearts are failing them for fear of things which are coming to pass upon the earth, we can still believe for ourselves that everything is going to be all right, that God is still on the throne, His program is being carried out in this world, and that soon He will come and take away the veil, and explain all that which today remains a mystery to us. We are not only happy that we can believe this for ourselves, and rejoice in the comfort which it brings to our own hearts, but we do thank God for the blessed privilege and opportunity of being able to bring it to others, to broadcast this message to a lost world, the message of hope and cheer which the world needs so much today.

What a glorious, wonderful message it is to bring to a world which today is floundering

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

20439

girl, the gang he ran around with on the block, and the good life a million miles away.

This is a GI's heritage a script he doesn't realize he knows already, handed down through this century from generations of Americans who spent nights in tents like this on battlefields all over the world.

His buddy doesn't answer, and he wonders how a guy can sleep so hard so fast.

The American soldier in tent city is impatient to get going. He is perpetually tired of standing in lines and waiting for things. Nothing will satisfy him more, aside from going home, than to get to his new unit where he can begin the countdown of days until his 12-month tour is over and he can go home, to his folks, his car, and his girl, and the good life again.

Other men, the college age men, look forward to home and school, many of them.

Older men, lifers in the service, look forward to getting back to the wives and children they had to leave behind.

Nothing in the Army will be good enough for the GI until then. But that's good. It gives a man something to fight for.

The GI can be cynical, gross, and irreverent. He can also be profound, reverent, and proud; comic, outspoken, and patriotic. He would probably never be able to adjust in another army where men are disciplined more for speaking out, because he is an American and these personal liberties are also a way of life. He has always been so.

He will put down the cocky youngster who thinks the world owes him an apology for throwing a curve into his life—like Vietnam. Yet he and the same kid will carry each other home the next night after a few beers. He will go out of his way to communicate with the local ladies, and he'll play with the throngs of children who gather around the compound to chase bugs in the glare of the floodlights, to say "hello" (every one of them), to ask "shine shoes?" and generally to gawk at the "big eyes" from far away.

He likes children. He can't turn his back on one; the spunky, rugged little Vietnamese boys who want to punch, wrestle around, and try out their karate, and the delicate, very feminine, and very lovely little Vietnamese girls with the beautiful long black hair who stand aside shyly; the little pee-wee who comes toddling up without his pants to be with bigger boys, or the hungry little kid who comes up and asks for a nickel.

He works magic with these children. It's called a smile, a stick of gum, a small candy bar, and a big heart.

There is an undercurrent around which tells him almost instinctively that this land is witnessing a showdown between an ideology like his, which cherishes the value of the individual human soul, like the souls of these children, and the dogma which places far greater value on the individual's back, a value like the Vietcong's brand of communism.

He still has a lot to learn about personal diplomacy with people whose ways of life are different from his own, and that, when walking down a sidewalk in another man's land, it is often a sign of great humility to allow that man the center of the sidewalk. But he is learning * * * every day.

He cannot be certain of the future, but he is determined to have one. And many GI's, more than some Americans not here can ever know first hand, are determined that these Vietnamese kids and their families will have a future, too.

He is apprehensive of that moment when the burden of battle may be dropped on his shoulders for the first time; when the qualities of mercy and charity, ingrained in him since childhood might have to be shoved aside if it becomes necessary to kill a man.

Others will have no compunctions about pulling the trigger on a Vietcong.

He senses that the character of war and the rumble of distant conflict remain constant in their honesty. They are what they appear to be and nothing more or less. They seek not to impress because they are not living things of flesh and blood, like men. But they do impress, the first time, and lastingly, for neither souls nor consciences have been built into them, or the power to deceive. What they are they make no excuses for. Neither do they repent. They know no better, and there is no hope of their ever being taught or learning differently.

This is why no man can forget them who has ever associated himself with them or experienced the havoc they wreak.

Nobody ever guaranteed that living or dying in this century would be easy. It's natural that a heavy burden should tire a man's shoulders, even a great nation's shoulders. But it is how well a man or nation carries its burdens that bespeaks its character. And here in the embattled republic, humanity calls.

To the American soldier who will have served here, died here, and survived here, it will have sounded eternally profane for the secure at home to have said, "you men were wrong and your ordeal in vain."

Let the man guard his words who has not been here, who has not seen, and felt, and known this war.

Let us ever guard his right to dissent. But one Sunday in the church of his choice may he instead ask God to grant the Americans here and to those to come, the South Vietnamese soldier in battle for his Republic, and the Allies here to help him, one fair request:

"The serenity to accept the things they cannot change here;

The courage to change the things they can;
And the wisdom to know the difference."

MARITIME RESTRICTION PREVENTS AMERICAN WHEAT SALES

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the regrettable shipping restriction which makes it impossible for the United States to sell wheat to Russia and Eastern Europe cannot be defended on any rational ground. The unfortunate aspects of such restriction is further underscored in an excellent editorial published in the Chicago Daily News of August 13, 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Aug. 13, 1965]

RUSSIA TURNS WEST FOR WHEAT

Russia has plunged into the Western wheat market in a big way with orders for 214 million bushels from Canada to cost \$450 million. The purchase reflects another bad harvest in the Soviet Union and raises a strong possibility that Russia will once more seek a deal to buy grain from the United States.

U.S. wheat sales to Russia lack the simplicity of the Canadian approach. To Canadians, business is business, and if Russia, Red China, or any other Communist country has the money, Canada will sell. Here the grain business gets intertwined with domestic and international politics and prejudice until the strands are lost.

Already, forces are being marshalled in Washington to block any wheat sales to Communist countries. This despite the ex-

perience of 2 years ago, when Russia bought \$145 million worth of wheat in the United States without undermining the Statue of Liberty.

U.S. stores of surplus wheat have declined a bit in recent years, to a current 12-year low. But there were still 819 million bushels in the bins as of July 1, being stored at a massive cost to the taxpayer and otherwise contributing to the insoluble farm problem. An opportunity to sell some of this surplus on the world market ought not to be lightly dismissed.

Much of our surplus grain goes to countries that can pay only in soft, local currencies, which means the sale is virtually a gift. Russia pays in hard currencies on the international market, which is no small consideration in view of our precarious balance-of-payments situation.

There are, of course, ample reasons for caution in trading with the Soviets that do not arise in trade with our allies. It would be foolhardy, for example, to extend long-term credits to Russia and thereby help build up an economy that is in threatening competition with our own.

But we find no merit in the emotional argument that selling Russia subsidized wheat constitutes an American subsidy to Russia. It is the American farmer and exporter who benefit from the subsidy, not the nation that buys grain at the world market price. And if we block sales of grain to Russia, there is nothing to prevent middleman nations from buying our grain at the world price and reaping a profit from selling flour to Russia.

Nor should we overlook the propaganda value in the simple fact that the Communist nations turn to the West when they need wheat. Nothing they could do would better illustrate the basic point we are trying to make: Our system works; theirs doesn't.

CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FINANCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the Congress needs to maintain Government-wide oversight and review of the research and development being financed by the Federal Government. The distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] has long recognized that need and has himself done significant and valuable work toward that end in his capacity as chairman of the oversight committee of the Senate, the Government Operations Committee, on which I am honored to serve. I am greatly pleased that our distinguished chairman [Mr. McCLELLAN] has created a special Subcommittee on Government Research in the Senate Government Operations Committee, and has appointed me to chair it.

With the help of the able and hard-working Senators who have been appointed as members of this subcommittee, we will do our best to carry out the job our distinguished chairman has given us.

Mr. President, to further explain the subcommittee's work and scope of operations, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], dated August 20, 1965, and a statement which I made on the same date, be inserted in the Record at this point.

20440

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 20, 1965

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, AUGUST 20, 1965

Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN announced today that he has appointed a Special Subcommittee on Government Research of the Committee on Government Operations, to be composed of Senators FRED R. HARRIS, of Oklahoma, as chairman, MCCLELLAN, ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, KARL E. MUNDT, and MILWARD L. SIMPSON.

The subcommittee will be authorized and directed to undertake intensive studies, including hearings as may be necessary, into the operations of research and development programs financed by departments and agencies of the Federal Government. The studies will include research in such fields as economics and social science, as well as basic science, research and technology. Special emphasis will be placed on those programs now being carried out through contracts with higher educational institutions and private organizations, corporations and individuals, to determine the need for the establishment of national research, development and manpower policies and programs, in order to bring about government-wide coordination and elimination of overlapping and duplication of scientific and research activities.

The subcommittee will be further directed to examine existing research information operations, the impact of Federal research and development programs on institutions of higher learning, and to recommend the establishment of programs to insure equitable distribution of research and development contracts among such institutions and other contractors.

The staff of the full Committee on Government Operations will be assigned to provide the necessary staff services to the subcommittee, and the subcommittee chairman will be authorized to appoint, without compensation, such technical advisors and consultants as may be required to attain the subcommittee's objectives. Should these studies indicate that legislative action may be required to develop an adequate and comprehensive program covering these operations, the subcommittee will be directed to submit appropriate recommendations to the Committee on Government Operations.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, OF OKLAHOMA, AUGUST 20, 1965

I am grateful to Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, chairman of the Government Operations Committee, for the creation at my suggestion of a special Subcommittee on Government Research, and for his appointment of me to chair the new subcommittee.

The Federal Government is the largest purchaser of research today. The Government is spending approximately \$15 billion a year for research and development, or more than 15 percent of the total annual budget. This compares with a Government expenditure for the same purpose of around \$75 million in 1940 and \$2 billion in 1963.

More than half of those engaged in research in this country are financed by the Federal Government and most of the others are influenced by its research programs.

The Subcommittee on Government Research will be an active subcommittee, examining into all aspects of the huge, \$15 billion annual expenditure for Federal research and development programs. I plan to call a meeting of the subcommittee soon to discuss objectives and to lay our work for next session and the balance of this session.

I have long been concerned with the subject embraced by this new subcommittee.

Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, as chairman of a Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization and International Organizations, undertook in 1960 studies of this matter, as did a House Select Committee on Government Research in 1963 and 1964.

Presently, there is no way for one agency to find out readily whether a subject proposed to be researched by it is or has been the subject of research by some other governmental agency. There is no centralized oversight or review of research contracts let by the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

Research results are not readily accessible to government agencies or the general public, because there is no centralized filing, indexing, or reporting of them.

No present administrative procedure exists to require substantial justification for the letting of particular contracts. Each agency pretty much makes its own decisions on whether research contracts should be let and to whom.

Universities and other prospective research contractors have no regular way of knowing in advance what research and development contracts are to be let.

The \$15 billion annual expenditure by the Federal Government for research and development has tremendous impact on higher education and our economy generally. There is no overall national policy on research or the proper use of research manpower resources.

Approximately 100 of the 1,800 colleges and universities in America receive the bulk of research contracts let to higher education institutions. Twenty universities do approximately two-thirds of the Government research work and, not surprisingly, these same 20 universities graduate about two-thirds of the Ph. D.'s in the country. The result obviously is that the favored institutions have grown stronger while the unfavored ones have become less able to compete for research projects.

Lastly, our subcommittee, in addition to considering these various aspects of the problem, will also be concerned with making recommendations for the establishment of administrative machinery to eliminate duplications and overlapping of research projects handled by different Federal agencies and to reduce unnecessary expenditures.

COOPERATIVE ACTION TO ELIMINATE IMMEDIATE AND DEEP-SEATED CAUSES OF RIOTS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, last Tuesday I addressed a letter to the President of the United States making several recommendations for action in connection with the tragic holocaust occurring in my State last week.

Yesterday I received an excellent and constructive reply from the President telling me that my suggestions would be thoroughly considered. I ask unanimous consent that both letters be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 17, 1965.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Recently in the Watts district of the city of Los Angeles in my State, the Nation and the world witnessed a tragic outbreak of violence and destruction. Apparently, law and order have now been reestablished. Sociologists will now study what caused this explosion but the time for constructive measures by both the legislative

and executive branches of the National Government, and by the State government, and the communities affected is now.

I have long supported the establishment and continuation of the programs carried out under the Economic Opportunity Act which is now before the Senate. I believe it is essential that all Federal agencies, as well as those dealing with the antipoverty program be immediately mobilized on a coordinated basis to make the reconstruction of the Watts area a true demonstration of self-help and cooperation between private and public groups. I would hope that the resources not only of the Office of Economic Opportunity, but also of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Small Business Administration, the Department of Labor through the manpower development, retraining, and employment programs would be imaginatively extended to those who have suffered so much in this area. Certainly programs such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) would be immensely helpful in working with community organizations to further adult participation on a neighborhood basis in community life. I understand such a program has already been successfully conducted on a demonstration basis in Philadelphia.

Surely, all arrangements should be immediately made to eliminate the causes of this holocaust. I respectfully believe the Federal Government can be of great assistance in this critically important field.

With sincere respect,

THOMAS H. KUCHEL.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., August 19, 1965.

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: I appreciate your letter of August 18 recommending that programs of Federal agencies, as well as those of State, city, and private organizations, be coordinated to make the reconstruction of the Watts area in Los Angeles a demonstration of self-help and cooperation between private and public groups.

I have been deeply concerned about the Los Angeles situation. As you know, I have followed the events there closely.

In response to the request of Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty, Governor LeRoy Collins, Under Secretary of Commerce and former head of the Community Relations Service, was sent to Los Angeles to advise and consult with both the Governor and the mayor. Governor Collins is working on all the approaches you have so thoughtfully suggested. He has reported that he is meeting with the State, local, private, and Federal representatives in Los Angeles immediately to assist in bringing together the efforts of all of these agencies to ease tensions and begin the task of rebuilding.

I agree that we must eliminate both the immediate and deep-seated causes of riots such as those we witnessed in Los Angeles. Together with the Congress, and with much help from Senators like you, we have been able to obtain many programs designed to give residents of poverty-stricken areas the sense of hope and responsibility essential for human growth in a free society. But, there are complex problems and the solutions are neither quick nor easy. The White House Conference in November should help us to find solutions, as should the work of the special commission announced by Governor Brown to examine in depth the causes of the Los Angeles riots.

With deep gratitude for your excellent suggestions and assurances that I will see that each of them is thoroughly considered immediately for appropriate action, I am, your friend,

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

August 20, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

20441

RECESS UNTIL 12:30 P.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 12:30 p.m.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.), the Senate took a recess until 12:30 p.m.

The Senate reconvened at 12:30 p.m., when called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATIONS, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 615, H.R. 9220.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 9220) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, no action will be taken on the bill this afternoon. It will be the pending business on Monday.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REMARKABLE CONTINUITY OF U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA UNDER EISENHOWER, KENNEDY, AND JOHNSON

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, recently there have been some ominous indications that American policy in Vietnam was about to become a matter of partisan controversy. Ingenious efforts seemed underway to discover some way of splitting Republican policy in southeast Asia under President Eisenhower from the period in 1954 to 1961 from Kennedy, and especially Johnson policy more recently.

The division was labored, but it was given impetus by a statement attributed to President Eisenhower that, under his administration, the United States concentrated on economic aid, not military commitment, in Vietnam.

Yesterday President Eisenhower clarified the situation with a resounding endorsement of President Johnson's policy in southeast Asia—a statement of warm and generous support.

President Eisenhower, in fact, flatly repudiated efforts to make a partisan issue of the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam. He described—and I use his word—as “rot” published reports of a difference in approach on the Vietnam question between him and President Johnson.

In fact, at his news conference yesterday, former President Eisenhower rejected any interpretation that there was any difference between the Eisenhower policy on Vietnam and the Johnson policy.

Let me quote what President Eisenhower added at that news conference. These are President Eisenhower's remarks yesterday:

The public should understand how different the circumstances are today from a decade ago.

Eisenhower said that in 1954 the hope was that South Vietnam would be left in peace by the Communists in North Vietnam and could survive with sufficient economic aid. But those hope have not been realized.

President Eisenhower added:

I have said again and again that I support the President in his efforts to defeat the Communist military challenge in South Vietnam.

Mr. President, any careful and fair review of our policy in Vietnam since 1954 discloses the remarkable continuity and consistency of that policy.

It has evolved logically from commitments originally made in 1954, based on the principle of assisting a country that formally requested us to help.

Throughout this period we have never lost sight of the fact that peace through economic and educational aid and, yes, through some military advice and supply, was our basis for responding to the South Vietnamese plea for support.

Anyone with an ear to hear or an eye to read must admit that in recent months the Johnson administration has stepped up our drive for peaceful negotiations—negotiations anywhere, anytime, any place, with anyone—even more vigorously than we have necessarily stepped up the scope and size of our military help.

With the appointment of General Lansdale as a top aide to Ambassador Lodge, we are seeking a greater initiative on the economic and educational front of this complex war.

The Johnson administration certainly recognizes at least as clearly as any administration has that we must win peace in Vietnam in the minds and hearts of the Vietnamese people, not simply on the field of battle.

The American commitment is greater than it has been, but no one should lose sight of the fact that that commitment is in about the same balance in 1965 as it is in 1955—in spite of the immense escalation in military activity from Communist aggression. We still recognize that we cannot successfully help South Vietnam

to defend itself without very heavy commitments on the economic, the educational, and the psychological fronts. And our actions show this.

We recognize that this war must end with negotiations. We have no design, none on North Vietnam. But we also recognize that the military capacity to defend South Vietnam and the will to use that capacity in its defense is just as important as the will to negotiate, if peace is to be achieved.

Consider the remarkable record of continuity in the U.S. policy in southeast Asia since we first responded to the request for assistance from that embattled little country.

From 1954 to 1965, the fundamental purpose of the United States in its southeast Asian policy has been unchanged. That purpose has been to prevent the imposition on southeast Asia of the political power of communism, backed by China and the Soviet Union. As President Eisenhower explained to Winston Churchill on April 4, 1954, such a result in southeast Asia “would be a grave threat to the whole free community,” and “this possibility should now be met by united action and not passively accepted.”

That was not President Johnson in 1965; that was President Eisenhower in April 1954, more than 11 years ago.

In the conditions of early 1954, united action did not prove possible, and at the Geneva Conference later that spring, agreements were reached which conceded one-half of Vietnam to Communist power.

But the United States did not change its purpose. It proceeded promptly to take the lead in the negotiation of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. In the words of Secretary of State Dulles:

The purpose of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty is the creation of unity for security and peace in southeast Asia and the southwestern Pacific. It is a treaty for collective defense against both open armed attack and internal subversion. Although the United States has no direct territorial interest in southeast Asia, we have much in common with the people and governments of this area and are united in the face of a common danger that stems from international communism.

The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty was signed on October 14, 1954. The Senate approved it 4 months later by a vote of 82 to 1. Vietnam is not a member of the treaty, but it is protected by the treaty under a protocol agreed at the same time.

This is something that many of the critics of the administration in Vietnam overlook. The fact is that it was a firm commitment made by President Eisenhower in South Vietnam, and reaffirmed by President Kennedy and President Johnson, and that we also have a commitment under the Southeast Collective Defense Treaty of 1954.

As Secretary Rusk said so well on television some 10 days ago, the American commitment is the heart of the matter. Unless we keep our commitment to South Vietnam, a commitment which is widely recognized throughout the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain, our word and

20442

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 20, 1965

promise will mean little in the future. As Secretary Rusk also indicated, peace is based very heavily on the good word of the United States of America to more than 40 countries throughout the world.

On October 25, 1954, President Eisenhower made a specific offer of help to the Government of Vietnam. He pointed out that the implications of the recently concluded Geneva Conference "have caused grave concern regarding the future of a country temporarily divided by an artificial military grouping, weakened by a long and exhausting war, and faced by enemies without and by their subversive collaborators within." President Eisenhower said that he was instructing the American Ambassador in Vietnam to discuss with the Vietnamese Government how an intelligent program of American aid could assist Vietnam in its hour of trial, provided that the Vietnamese Government in return would give assurances as to its own standards of performance. President Eisenhower stated:

The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means.

That was the commitment which President Eisenhower made to Vietnam in 1954.

This Eisenhower purpose is the same as the Johnson purpose, the purpose of the U.S. Government today. In support of this consistent, continuous purpose, changes in the shape of American assistance and support have been made from time to time in the last 10 years, as subversion, terror, and infiltration from the north have increased.

American economic assistance under Eisenhower was followed almost at once by an American Military Advisory Group, in 1955.

In the late 1950's, economic and military assistance were stepped up, and, in October 1960, President Eisenhower assured the Vietnamese Government:

For so long as our strength can be useful, the United States will continue to assist Vietnam in the difficult but hopeful struggle ahead.

In December 1961, President Kennedy responded to increasing Communist pressure by a major enlargement of the Military Advisory and Assistance Command.

In August 1964, President Johnson replied to direct aggression in the Gulf of Tonkin, and the Congress overwhelmingly passed the southeast Asia resolution by a combined vote of 504-2. This resolution reaffirmed the vital importance to the United States and to world peace of "the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia." It declared:

The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

In February 1965, after repeated military sneak attacks upon U.S. installations in South Vietnam, President Johnson authorized controlled and measured air action against North Vietnam.

In the spring and early summer of 1965, after careful review of the military situation in Vietnam, President Johnson authorized further deployments of U.S. forces for combat assignments in South Vietnam, having determined that it was essential to meet the needs of the American Commander, General Westmoreland.

Throughout these 11 years, there has been no partisan division within the United States on southeast Asia or on South Vietnam. Democrats have supported a Republican President, and Republicans have supported two Democratic Presidents. Senator Lyndon Johnson fully supported President Eisenhower, and General Eisenhower has given generously of time, counsel, and support to President Johnson.

The purpose of the United States today is the purpose of the United States in 1954. That purpose was clearly stated by President Johnson on July 28, as follows: "To do what must be done to bring an end to aggression and a peaceful settlement."

Mr. President, in support of my contention that the Johnson administration is indeed stepping up the efforts to fight for the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people as well as meeting the military necessities, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article written by Evans and Novak entitled "Vietnam's Quiet War," setting forth the remarkable record and assignment of Gen. Edward Lansdale.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VIETNAM'S QUIET WAR

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Acting under the private sponsorship of the White House itself, a new team of non-military experts will take off soon for the jungle hamlets of Vietnam.

Their mission: To develop new techniques to close the worst gap of all—the growing gap between the people and their Government.

What makes this newest attempt in the vital nonmilitary phase of the war particularly interesting is the identity of the American who will lead the new effort: the famed Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale (U.S. Army, retired), a victorious veteran of counterinsurgency politics in the Philippines.

The decision to let Lansdale try his experienced hand in the shadowy arts of rural reconstruction (perhaps the decisive issue in saving South Vietnam from communism) was taken at the highest levels. It is a gamble—and an opportunity.

The gamble is found in Lansdale's personal history in the Far East.

While still on the active list (and famous throughout southeast Asia as "Over Hill and Lansdale") the general was an inside man in the turbulent early days of Saigon's Ngo Dinh Diem. He was the go-between in countless sub rosa missions for the then tiny U.S. mission in Saigon and the new, unstable Diem government.

"Nothing happened in Saigon that Ed didn't have a hand in or know about," an admiring Washington friend confides. "He knows where all the bodies are buried."

Why, then, is he a gamble? Because nobody really can predict Lansdale's reception by the present ruling faction in Saigon's presidential palace. Since Diem's assassination in 1963, governments have come and gone like monsoon showers. Consequently, Lansdale's brilliant exploits in those early days might em-

barrass rather than assist him in working with the newest regime, headed by Air Vice-Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky.

In fact, this danger is a key reason why the U.S. Government hasn't sent Lansdale back to Saigon sooner than this.

But now the White House has decided that the opportunity outweighs the gamble.

That opportunity can also be found in Lansdale's background: During the last stages of the violent guerrilla war in the Philippines, led by the Communist Huks, it was Lansdale who worked out new techniques to win back the allegiance of peasants who had defected to the Reds.

Lansdale was the late Ramon Magsaysay's unsung hero on the long road back to victory over the Huks. The essential job as Magsaysay rallied his country against the insurgency was to woo the Philippine peasants away from the promises of the guerrillas.

In Saigon today an immense U.S. aid mission dispenses some \$350 million a year to keep the economy going. But the alienation of the hamlets from Saigon continues.

Out in the provinces there still is no sense of identification with the central government.

On top of this, the prospect of thousands of innocent victims in the escalating war (many of whom will be blamed on the United States) is deeply worrying the Johnson administration. Drastically needed while the noisy military war intensifies is even greater intensification of the quiet war.

No hard plans have yet been made for the team of a dozen experts that Lansdale will take to Saigon in the next couple of weeks. One possibility: a lengthy tour of duty in a single province, perhaps in Long An Province near Saigon, to develop the elusive techniques for closing the gap between the Government and the people.

Lansdale will be directly responsible to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, with an open-end commission giving him plenty of room for maneuver. He will work closely with the Vietnamese Government and local Vietnam officials engaged in pacification and rural reconstruction in the hamlets and villages.

But officials here are keeping their fingers crossed. The question is not only whether his old Diem connections will hurt Lansdale despite all his expertise in the politics of counterinsurgency. The deeper question is whether Saigon can really win the allegiance of the countryside.

In an answer to that second question lies the key to a final solution in Vietnam.

RESTORE BUDGET CUTS IN CONSERVATION TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Wisconsin Legislature, reflecting the Badger State's great interest in conservation, has passed a joint resolution urging the Congress to restore budget cuts in conservation technical assistance and in cost sharing for conservation and resource development projects works on privately owned lands.

Happily, both the Senate and the House share this great concern for conservation and have restored these funds. This congressional action, which I fully supported, restored an average of \$4,500 per county district to Wisconsin's 72 county soil and water conservation districts, for a total of \$315,000.

The Wisconsin Legislature also adopted a resolution offering to purchase a site and provide necessary auxiliary facilities for a 200 Bev accelerator if the